10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

a first-born may be inefficient, the mantle of a dead or dying head falls on the son who in the opinion of all the adult males in the household is the best fitted to keep it together, irrespective of whether he is the eldest or not.[1] This combination of birth and unanimity of choice gives these heads the strength of inevitability, so that they can be neither envied nor rebelled and intrigued against, but must be recognized and implicitly obeyed by their subordinates—a most important factor in keeping the peace.

Before the Turks left in 1912, the headship of a northern village or tribe descended in the same family, always to the head it had chosen for itself. Since 1912 successive Albanian governments have slightly modified this system. In non-tribal areas like Mat, Martanesh and Shpat there has been less need for a change; as far back as we can go, the head of the average village or group of villages has been elected by the community for his personal qualities in the same way as the head of a house. A few villages of Mat, however, had long been ruled by the landlords (*begs* or *beys*) who owned them; after 1912 the power of these landlords, the Zogu family excepted, was curtailed by the central government like that of the bajraktars of the north.

In the old days the laws were administered as well as enacted or revised by the ruling rank, who were collectively known as elders. The system was elaborate, with public trials over which elders presided, and at which evidence was taken from witnesses on oath as well as from the plaintiff and the accused, and a jury might be asked to render a verdict. Fines were the usual penalty for petty misdemeanours, and temporary banishment, permanent expulsion or death for serious offences; a modified form of imprisonment also existed. Offences against the cohesion of the social fabric, as understood by the mountaineers, were reckoned more serious than crimes against an individual. Thus parricide was graver than fratricide; the first struck a blow at parental authority, an essential part of the social structure, but since one brother had no right to rule another except in special cases, fratricide was little worse than an ordinary murder and hardly a public concern.[2] The murder of a neighbour or the theft of his property seldom entered the serious category until the criminal became an habitual offender. Then the community, regarding the man as a social menace from whom none of its members was safe, took whatever action the law laid down for

[1] See Chapter V.

[2] See Chapter V, p. 38.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Historical Albania EG2

nation, which is the greatest, could put into the field more than 15,000 men on horseback, well fitted to wage war in the manner of their country, valiant and good fighters. And the said nations, both Latins and Abbanois, are harshly oppressed under the intolerable and very hard servitude of the most hateful and abominable lordship of the Slavs. Indeed, they are a downtrodden people; their clergy is lowered and humbled; their bishops and abbots often imprisoned; their nobles disinherited and imprisoned; their churches, both cathedrals and collegiate, are dispersed and deprived of power; their monasteries and priories lost and destroyed. They, one and all, would think to consecrate their hands in the blood of the said Slavs if they saw coming a Prince of France who would be their leader and chief against the said Slavs, the enemies of truth and of our faith. One thousand French horse and five or six infantry, along with the said Abbanois and Latins, could conquer at their ease the whole of this Kingdom of Rassie, such as it is."

This passage, written almost at the height of Serb power, shows clearly that the Serb conqueror had failed to destroy the Albanian sense of nationality, and failed to force the Serbian Orthodox Church upon the people; and that there was a very large Albanophone population with a Catholic clergy of its own. The bishoprics of Antivari, Scutari, Sappa, and Pulati still exist, and have survived both Serb and Turk. Into this reserve of Albanian nationality the refugees from the surrounding districts fled when the Turks advanced. The mountain population, then as now, was no doubt scattered in isolated houses or family groups of several houses on the mountain pastures, and not gathered into towns or villages. They formed "katuns." That the population was numerous is shown by the many ecclesiastical and political documents, correspondence with the Vatican, Venice, and Ragusa, and old Serbian archives. Thus in 1348 Tsar Stefan Dushan gives to the monastery he is founding at Prizren nine Albanian "katuns" near Prizren, the said Albanians to give serf labour to the monastery. He gives also some land in Upper Pulati, together with its inhabitants. Several still existing place-names are mentioned: Shikje, Krue e Madhe (the great spring of water), and Sakati. "The existing Catholic clergy at Shikje who have vineyards" are to pay a tribute of wine to the monastery (an Orthodox one), and so are certain other districts. The people of Lower Pulati are to pay tribute of 100,000 silk cocoons. Several mills are handed to the monastery and in one case the miller, Zan, and his brethren are mentioned. No one may erect a mill on Church land, under penalty of a fine and loss of the mill. (The Church alone has the right to grind corn. This would give it immense power.) Large districts of Lower Pulati are given to the Serb Church, including the